

URBANUS
Architecture and Design
都 市 实 践

V I L L A G E / C I T Y

村	城
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作为深圳城市发展过程中的一个特殊形态，城中村自发的高度城市化已使其成为深圳城市发展的一部分。由于缺乏相应的城市规划和管理，城中村产生的许多城市和社会问题又促使政府下决心彻底改造。在这本书中，城中村被看作代表了一个时代的一种生活状态的特殊聚居形式，笔者从理论和实践两个方面，来实验不彻底拆建城中村的方法，去寻找它的城市文化意义和可能的建筑学归宿。

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村·城 城·村：针对深圳城中村的四项城市提案
FOUR URBAN PROPOSALS FOR "VILLAGE-AMIDST-THE-CITY", SHENZHEN, CHINA



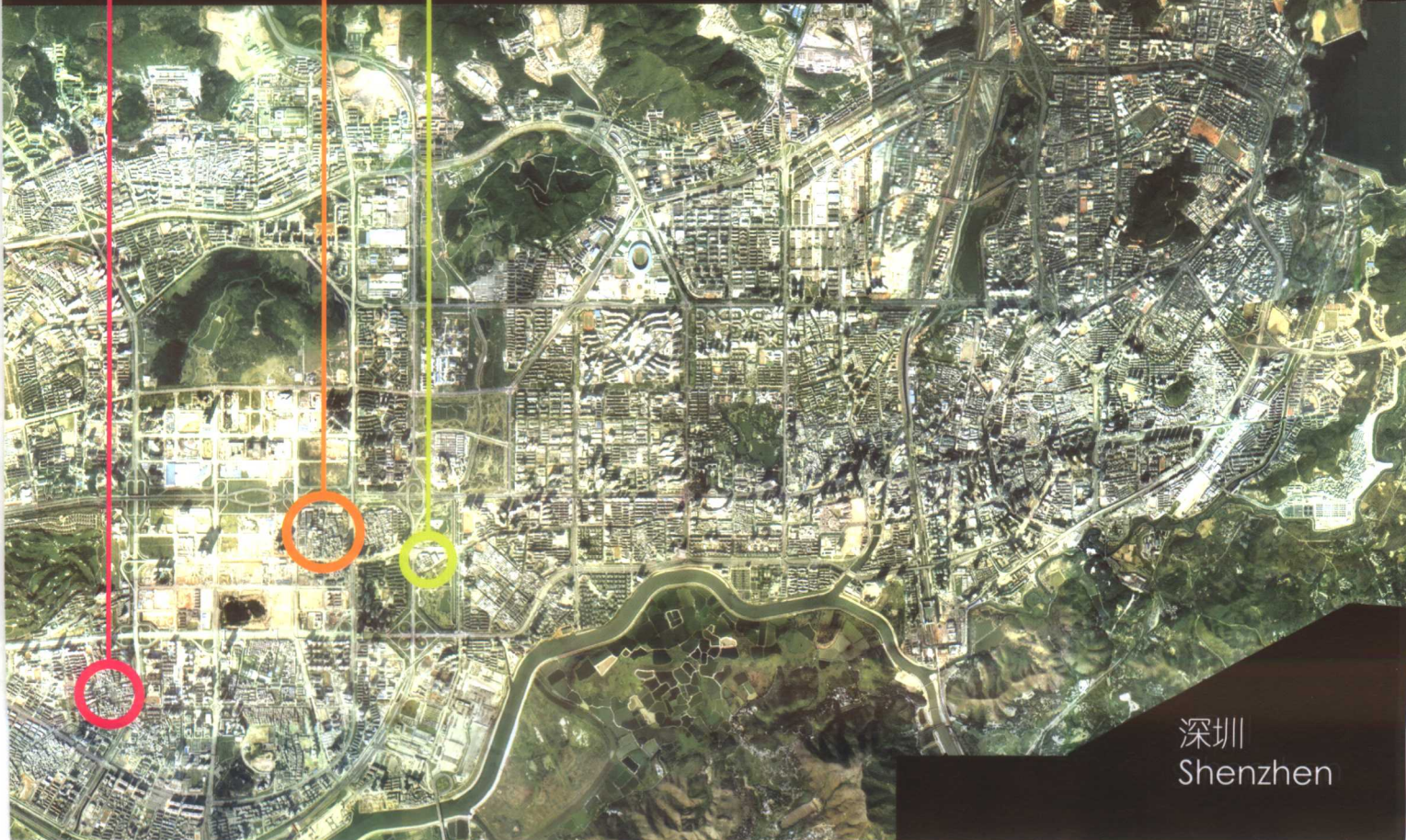


大芬村
Dafen Village

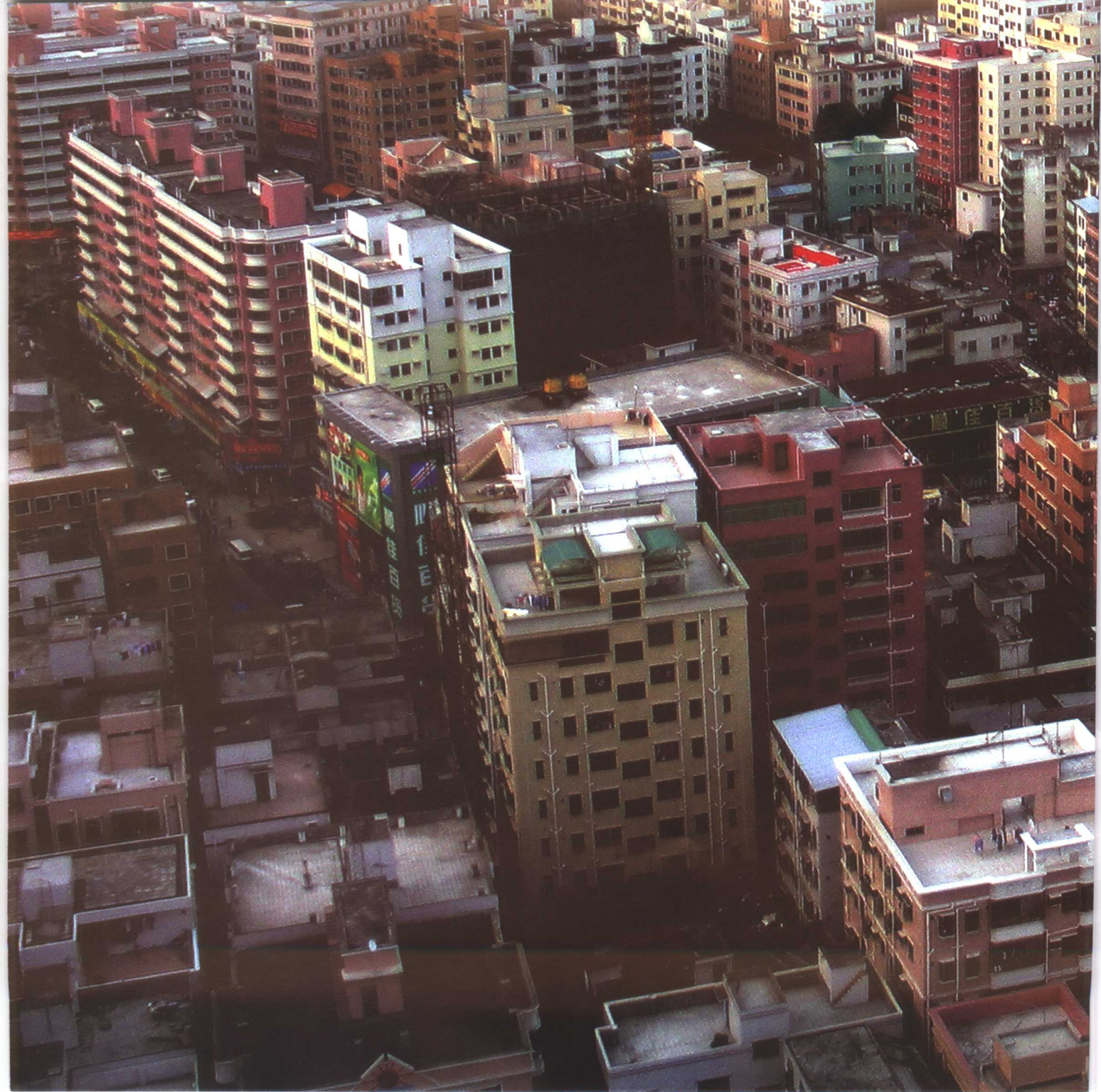
岗厦村
Gangsha Village

新洲村
Xinzhou Village

福新村
Fuxin Village



深圳
Shenzhen



前言

城中村是一个学术热点。URBANUS都市实践关注城中村问题，并不是从学者的角度，而是从城市建设积极参与者的角度。这种参与，反映了事务所的定位、态度和意向。

城中村的成因很简单。20世纪末开始的快速的中国城市化吞没了大量的农业用地，却没能消化掉受国家土地政策保护的农业人口的宅基地，从而形成了城市中的村落。这些村落并没有为城市提供一道悠闲的风景区，相反，它们利用政策的疏漏，随着城市的扩张而更疯狂地扩张，为新增的城市下层人口提供了基本的廉租住宅。

在美学上，城中村被很多人视为城市的疤痕；从政治上，更是一种定时炸弹。除了艺术家愿意把城中村作为一个有意义的背景而展开戏剧性的故事（例如陈果电影中类似的香港棚户区），对于认真关心城市问题的人士，城中村是道无解的难题。

URBANUS都市实践对城中村的敏感在于我们意识到城中村是在中国城市化进程中一个城市所必然包含的内容，是当代都市的一种基本“户型”。当城市白领和精英开始热衷于中产阶级生活时，城市的另一个极端正向低收入阶层敞开更大的门。不要忘记中国农业人口的数量、比重及地理分布，以及后工业时代对农业人口的解放，更不要忘记这是一个城市的淘金时代。当前中国越来越多的城市人口能够用廉价的方式获得中产阶级的舒适性时，就会有成几何级数倍数的低收入阶层用并不舒适的生活条件来支撑这种舒适性。这种城市经济和社会的平衡需要城中村。虽然有各种社会福利，如通过补偿性拆迁的方式来尽量推掉不美观的城中村，但这至多只能照顾城中村的地主，而不能最终惠及到它的广大租户。而更多的情形是，拆迁剥夺了地主和租户的生存权。因为城中村或类似于城中村的廉租住区不仅是居住的场所，还是极其简易的就业场所。作为一个完整的小社会，许多人可以利用

自己的居室就地成就一种生意，其形态五花八门，即便最具想象力的人也难以尽数。而一旦这种交织的社会结构被肢解到新都市的另一种户型——单元楼之中，这种简单的谋生条件则消失殆尽。毁灭城中村，也是在毁灭一种下层人的城市生活方式。

城中村的社会性建筑学成果是空间的生动性。相比于今日大量在高速都市化和全球化条件下被设计出来的布景式的城市，城中村的物理空间形态表现出出奇的生动，显示出人性在创造人类自己家园中所展现的魅力。在建筑师的眼里，城中村不应成为推土机下的冤魂。

URBANUS都市实践从成立之初便选择了一条关注社会的道路，即从研究当前的城市发展状态出发，在快速的城市化进程中，去创造人性化的城市。面对城中村这一当代都市化的基本“户型”，URBANUS都市实践的介入态度是现实主义。一方面，我们承认“城中村”模式是解决城市低层生存的一种现实的方式，而拒绝将之简单地拆除；另一方面又积极寻找直接的当的方式，通过植入积极的公共空间、公共功能等方式适度挖掘城中村产业的地方特色，以此来提升城中村的民生条件，并创造一个有益于整体社会的良性文化。

处于危房状态的城中村或许会成为一个再无物理痕迹的历史，届时，肯定会有人像追悼香港逝去的九龙城那样扼腕；但作为解决城市下层阶层生存之道的城中村也可能变成一个永远的现实，届时，也肯定会有人像哀叹里约热内卢美丽的滨海山城中夹杂着无限的贫民窟而遗憾。在一个建筑师可以成为一支推动社会进步的力量时代，建筑学意义上的城中村方案会有其社会学和政治学的价值。在城中村改造中，国内外学者虽然已有不少建树，但书肆中难寻实践的案例，这本书所提供给读者的是一个具有批判性立场的建筑事务所及其合作者们从四个具体的工程案例中所展示的城中村可能的前景。

Recently "villages-amidst-the-city" has been a hot academic issue. URBANUS is giving attention to this issue as an active participant in urban construction, rather than as a scholar. This participation reflects the positioning, attitude and intent of our practice.

The cause for the formation of "villages-amidst-the-city" is simple. A huge amount of agricultural land has been taken over by cities due to the rapid urbanization that has occurred since late 20th century in China, however, the law-protected villagers residential lots are intact. Hence the "villages-amidst-the-city" were formed. Confined by horizontal size, these villages are sprawling vertically and increasing in density at an even greater rate than the expansion of the city. Because of this they are key providers of cheap housing for immigrants and the poor.

Aesthetically, the "villages-amidst-the-city" are seen as scar of the city. Politically, it is regarded as a sort of time bomb. Except from those artists who appreciate the "villages-amidst-the-city" as a meaningful background for their dramas (e.g. Hong Kong shanty housing shown in Fruit Chen's movie), these villages have become a seemingly unsolvable problem to those who take serious consideration of the issue.

URBANUS realizes that the "villages-amidst-the-city" are an inevitable outcome during the process of urbanization in China. It is a kind of basic housing type in the contemporary city. While white-collar workers are starting to gain affluence and enjoy the middle class life style, the other pole of the city is opening wide to those low-income urban residents. We have to be aware of the Chinese agricultural population, proportion and geographical distribution, as well as the liberation of farmers in the post-industrial age. We also have to be aware that this is an important time in urban development. The more people that live in a comfortable middle class life style, the more low-income people living in a much poorer condition to support the above comfort. Hence we need these villages for a balanced society. There are various kinds of social benefits to schemes planning to replace the villages, such as compensatory removal of villagers. However, these are not realistic solutions for most of the residents relying on the village for affordable housing. In most cases, to relocate the people is to essentially deprive their means of mak-

ing a life. These villages are not only places to live; they are also a basic work place for the inhabitants. Residents can simply use the same location to start small businesses. There are countless opportunities. If this kind of close-knit social frame is unbound into another urban form-unit blocks, then the above simple living condition will vanish.

The outstanding social and architectural condition of the "villages-amidst-the-city" is their spatial vitality. Compared to those "well-designed" cities which are driven by urbanization and globalization, these villages represent an extraordinary vitality in their physical and spatial configuration, as well as the enthusiasm of human beings who spontaneously create their own homes. From an architect's point of view, the "villages-amidst-the-city" should not be bulldozed.

URBANUS is a firm with concern for the state of social engagement. Its goal is to design a humanistic urban environment amidst the circumstance of today's rapid and careless urbanization. URBANUS' approach towards the "villages-amidst-the-city" is realistic. On one hand, we admit that these villages are a realistic solution for the housing problem of the low-income public; hence we refuse to simply remove them. On the other hand, we are trying to discover a new method, via introducing positive public spaces and functions as well as redefining the villages' own local characteristics, in order to upgrade the living condition within these villages, as well as to maintain a culture beneficial to the city.

These villages are in dangerous condition and may inevitably face a destructive future; at that time, there will be people who will mourn for the disappearance of the once vivid urban spaces and dwelling in the villages as they did for the ex-slums in Hong Kong. However, as a basic solution for housing the low-income class, these villages might exist forever, and at that time, there will be people bemoaning as they do about the slums in the beautiful seashore city of Rio De Janeiro. In such an age during which architects can be an active force in an effort to push society ahead, these village designs will have their values not only architecturally, but also socially and politically. We are presenting to readers four case studies revealing a potential bright future for the "villages-amidst-the-city."



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深圳城中村研究
INVESTIGATION OF VIL-
LAGE/CITY, SHENZHEN

文/黄伟文

25年膨胀400倍的城市

The City of Shenzhen's Population Has Grown 400 Times In 25 Years



1980年深圳



1985年深圳



1990年深圳



2000年深圳



边陲小镇深圳

1979年之前，深圳是中国南方的一个边陲小镇，人口不足3万，国民生产总值1.9亿。

400倍扩张

2004年，深圳市人口超过1000万，国民生产总值3000亿人民币。25年时间里，深圳人口增长400倍，国民生产总值增长1500倍。

政策和地理优势

深圳的奇迹得益于中国改革开放的政策以及毗邻发达的自由贸易港城市——香港的地理优势。

规划卓有成效

不断调整的城市规划适应和协调了城市的高速增长，为城市的发展建设作出了贡献。

UIA的肯定

作为快速发展城市规划建设的典范，深圳总体规划获1999年北京世界建筑师大会阿伯克隆比爵士奖荣誉提名。

Shenzhen -A Small Border Town

In 1979 Shenzhen was a remote border town in south china with a population of only 30,000 people.

The City Population Expanded 400 Times In Size

Shenzhen reached a population of 8 millions and an average GDP of 30 billion U.S.\$ in 2004, the population has grown 400 times and the GDP has grown 1500 times in 25 years.

The Political And Geographical Advantages

The Shenzhen miracle is partly due to China's open door policy. It also has benefited from a good location neighboring the well developed free trading port city of Hong Kong.

The Effective City Planning

The constant updating of Shenzhen's master plan, which allows the city to adapt to its high speed urban growth, has been a great contributing and driving force to the city's overall development.

The Honor From UIA

As a model of fast developing urban planning and construction, Shenzhen's master planning earned an honorary mention of the sir patrick abercrombie prize during the 1999 Beijing UIA world congress.

城中村问题及评价

Villager's Self Built Residential Neighborhoods Surrounded By The City



城市包围农村

1979年，改革开放的总设计师邓小平画了一个圈，这个圈成为328km²的深圳特区。被圈进去的行政村有91个，除原有住宅用地外，农用土地的绝大部分（96%，从个别村子归纳的约数，下同）被征用作城市建设用地，一小部分返还作村集体的工商发展用地和新宅基地。城市通过以极为低廉价钱征用农村土地，投入一定开发成本“几通一平”变为城市建设用地，之后有偿转让，迅速积累了庞大的土地基金用于城市开发，于是这些村落和仅剩下的4%用地就被包围在以“深圳速度”所进行的城市建设之中。

城中村概念

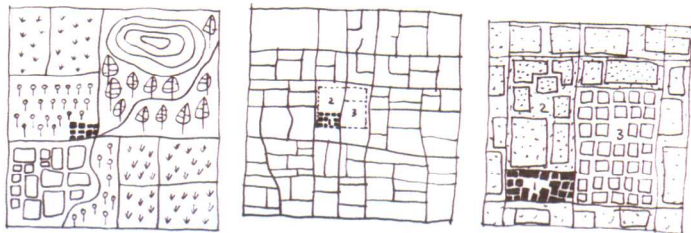
被城市包围的农村组织于1992年基本都转变为股份公司，村民成为城市居民和股份公司股东。在失去农用土地之后，原村民的收入来源，一部分来自于股份公司对工商用地经营（工业厂房或商住楼开发）产生利润的分红，一部分则来自于私房出租。平均超过村民14倍以上的外来人口的涌入，产生了对外租赁住房的巨大需求，原村民纷纷在新宅基地中突破240m²自用住宅的限制，兴建、扩建、重建更大、更密的住宅已供出租，于是形成了所谓的城中村。城中村实际上主要是指城市中的原村民在新宅基地范围内（小部分超出范围侵占城市用地）自发建设的以出租为主要目的的新私房群落。城中村有别于现在已基本被高楼大厦所代替的原村落，也不是城市中的农村。

The Village Surrounded By The City

The rapid growth of the city occupies a formerly rural area. Currently the two central areas of luohu and futian district contain 20 native villages.

The Villager's New Neighborhoods

During the urbanization process those original farmer groups reformed into new corporations .in 1992 all villagers became city residents, the so-called ex-villagers. The old village lands were acquired by the city for urban development, but a portion of the land they formerly owned was returned to the ex-villagers for their own housing and commercial use. Those returned lands formed the residential areas that are the subject of this study. They are the new neighborhoods of the ex-villagers, which are very different from the old villages, which are currently the sites of high rise buildings.



城中村数据

截止到2005年深圳市共有320个原行政村(特区内为91个),以私宅作为统计对象,全市城中村共有私宅35万栋,总用地面积93.49km²(特区内8km²,不足全市1/10),总建筑面积1.06亿(特区内为2138m²,达到全市1/5)m²,总人口502万人(占全市总人口1/2),暂住人口469万人(是城中村常住人口14倍)。

城中村的真正问题

城中村呈现出与城市反差强烈的形态风貌和结构特征,受到界的普遍关注和相对一面倒的批评。普遍认为的城中村问题有:形象丑、密度高、环境差、卫生糟、治安乱、公共空间不足、社区配套和市政设施缺乏、消防不符合规范等。这些问题,分别涉及视觉形象、城市管理、居住标准、市政系统、消防安全等方面。视觉问题严格意义讲不是一个问題;管理问题仅需城市职能尽快覆盖到位即可;居住标准则需要城市及城市规划针对社会阶层的多元性制订或接受多元性的标准;而仅有市政系统欠缺和消防安全隐患,则是研究城中村必须真正面对和急需改变的基本问题,也是下文所指城中村问题的真正含义。

城中村“飞地”

以上问题的成因需要客观的分析,城中村土地实质上是城市化的例外和“飞地”,享受不到与其他96%被征用为城市建设用地所得到的“国民待遇”:没有城市提供的规划和体现土地市场价值的开发容量许可;没有规划、设计、建设的审批途径;没有产权确认和交换的机会;没有政府规划并提供的社区配套和市政设施的投入;没有纳入城管、交管等政府部门的管理范畴。因此城中村作为城市化进程的一部分,其中的很多问题并非源于城中村的自身。

Problematic Neighborhoods

There is a big contrast in both form and urban structure between the ex-villager's dwellings and the rest of the city. The ex-villager's neighborhoods contain many problems because of uncontrolled development and ignorance by the city. Many of these "villages amidst the city" have become troubled neighborhoods. Here are some primary characteristics:

城中村评价

从城市整体功能看,源于计划经济的传统,各种城市规划及城市管理中普遍存在对城市低收入阶层生存需求和状况的“盲区”。城中村以全市可建设用地的一成,容纳了全市人口的一半,自发地对城市规划与管理的不足进行了的补充,有助于完善城市土地功能、丰富城市服务内容、降低城市服务和创业成本。

从土地经济规律看,城中村主观上是原村民突破各种政策法律限制追求自身利益的结果,客观上是城市土地按照其经济规律以扭曲形式释放其应有价值的必然。原农村96%土地被征用变成城市土地之后,价值往往是补偿给原村民价格的100倍。而剩下4%的返还用地,用作新宅基地用途的,则仅能作为一种福利用品(每户仅100m²用地,允许建240m²住宅)而不是像被征用土地一样成为一种由市场定价可以流转交易的商品。有人讥笑原村民过去种庄稼谋生现在种楼房致富,其实这是一种始终如一的将土地视为生产资料的最自然不过的经济行为,是对将城市土地限制为福利用品、无视其经济价值的计划经济式土地政策的一种纠正,也是原村民以1%价格贡献其96%土地支持城市建设之后,以所剩4%土地来分享城市发展成果的一种权利。大多数受到批评的城中村,与得到正面肯定的致富典型南岭村发展模式没有根本不同,人们应该注意到这种差别并将评价标准统一起来。

从城市文化看,城中村的自发和原生状态,代表深圳的草根和低收入阶层,真实而且富有活力。城市是一个由各种收入和文化阶层组成的社会生态系统,城中村是城市社会生态系统不可缺少的环节,也是和谐社会的重要组成部分。

总的来讲,城中村存在各种由于外界和自身而导致的问题,同时也为深圳的开放、包容、多元、活力发挥了相应的作用。

Urban Issues

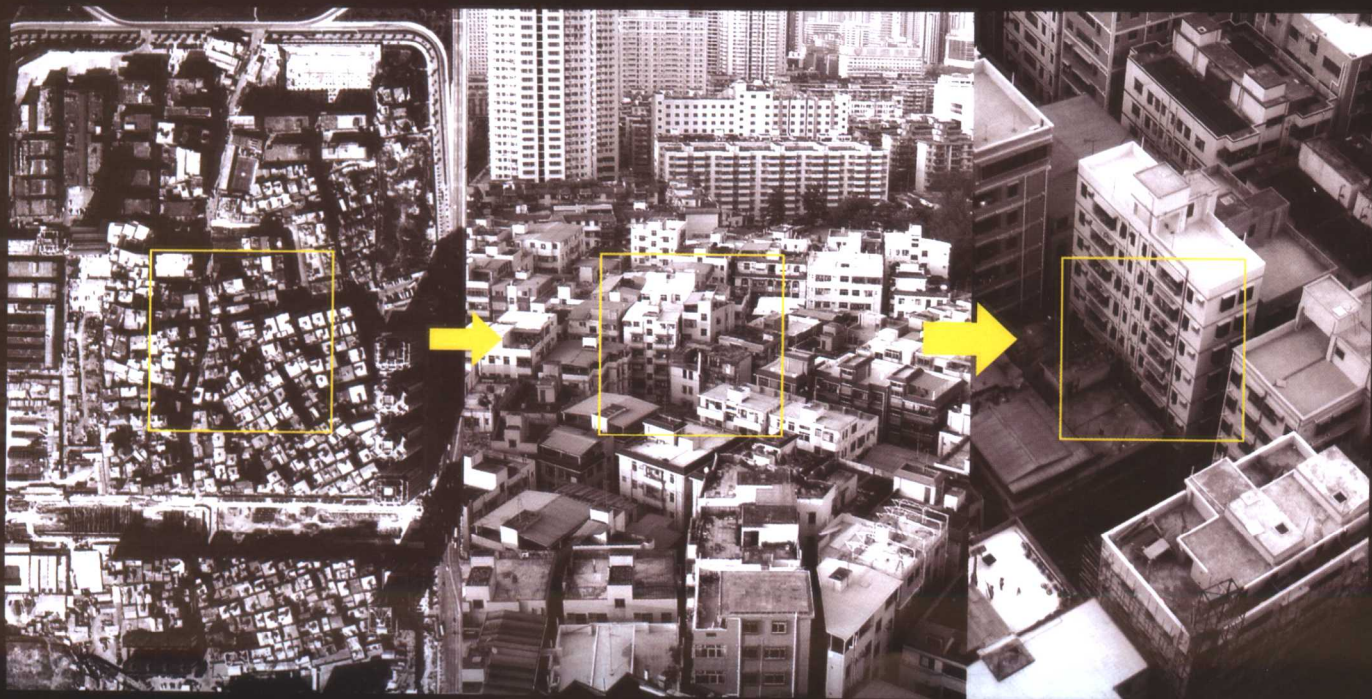
High building density, lack of city utilities, fire engine accessibility, and insufficient public space and community service facilities. The houses have very limited sunlight and ventilation. The outdoor spaces are fragmented and tiny; they lack a sense of order and safety. It is also difficult to make full use of the street level commercial space.

Social Issues

Due to the overall low living conditions in the "villages amidst the city", these areas become a shelter for low income and non-resident laborers. Also due to loose management, there are always social problems such as crime, drugs, and prostitution in these areas.

Political Issues

With all statistics contradicting the other areas of the city, these "villages amidst the city" have become a sensitive political issue for the city officials who want to make Shenzhen a high standard world city.



城中村规划模型推演

The Forming Of "Villages Amidst The City"

建立理论模型

作为原村民的新住宅区，也经过一定的规划，为什么最终会普遍地形成一些难以解决问题呢？这里试图通过理论模型予以解释：

规划标准

按照《深圳市规划标准与准则》的规定：村民住宅用地不得超过 100m^2 ，建筑面积不得超过 240m^2 （三人以下住户建筑面积不得超过 150m^2 ）。

住宅类型

原村民普遍希望建方块形单幢住宅，能四面开窗，因此用地也要方正（假设为 $10\text{m} \times 10\text{m}$ 的正方形）。法规规定单幢住宅之间前后最小距离 8m ，左右最小距离 3m 。根据这一规定，假设在 $100\text{m} \times 100\text{m}$ 的正方形地块内，最大限度能摆放的住宅为 80 幢，建筑 4 层，容积率约为 1.3 。

“方格式”划地模式

这一方块住宅类型和间距的规定决定了相应的“方格式”土地划分方式。

Building A Theoretical Model

Why are there still so many problems generated even after the planning and construction for a brand new neighborhood? We will explain here with the following research model:

The Planning Standard

According to the regulation "planning standard and principles of Shenzhen", a villager's lot for housing should not exceed 100sqm . And the total building area should not exceed 240sqm .

Housing Type

The ex-villagers generally prefer to build single family houses with full range of air and view (assuming a $10\text{m} \times 10\text{m}$ square). The lot should be a square shaped one. The building code requires the spacing between two houses should be 8m in front and back, 3m in both sides. Therefore, the maximum number of houses in a $100\text{m} \times 100\text{m}$ lot should be 80 . For a 4 story building, the FAR is 1.3 .

"Square Grid" System Of Lot Dividing

This square housing type and spacing code have encouraged the system of "square grid" lot diving.

